1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Astec NU7

532

[696]

[871]

[643
292]

[796]

[644]

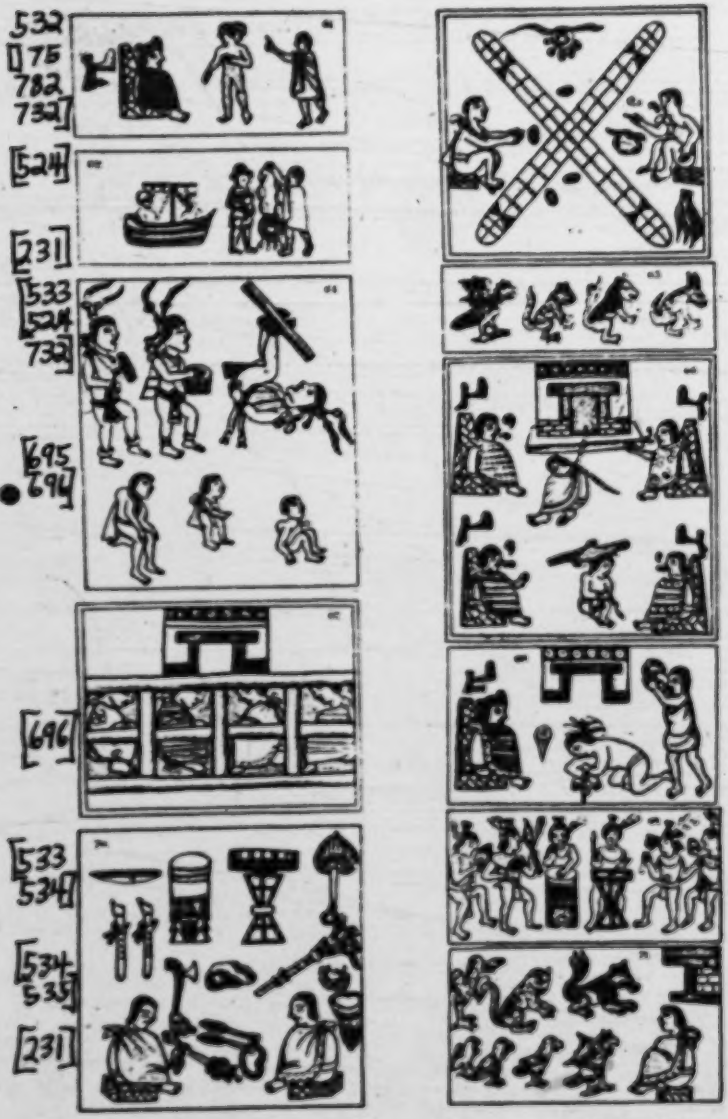
PLATE 39

SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

TOP: *Left:* Boys are taken by their fathers to the school or *Calmecac*. These people are of the poorer classes. *Right:* Four chiefs sentence criminals to death by noose and clubs for outrageous crimes. MIDDLE: *Left:* Warriors of proven worth engage in ceremonial combat. They wear the costume of warriors' orders or of chiefs. *Right:* A tribal ruler invests two leading men with badges and trappings of rank. BOTTOM: *Right:* Montezuma had professional entertainers, hunchbacks, jugglers and musicians.

[p. 128(A)]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7



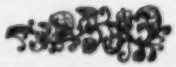
—After Paso y Troncoso

Omens (concluded). 61. Two-headed men (Chapter 6).

62. Spaniards landing on the coast (Chapter 7). 63. Game of *patolli* (Chapter 10). 64. Rolling a log on the soles of one's feet (Chapter 10). 65. Animals kept by the ruler (Chapter 10). 66. Judgment and punishment of malefactors—Tlaxcalan (Chapter 14). 67. Same—Quauhtalan (Chapter 14). 68. Same—Tecpilcalli (Chapter 14). 69. Musicians (Chapter 14). 70. Array and equipment for the dance (Chapter 14). 71. The ruler's counsels (Chapter 14).

[p. 36(6)]

[p. 36(F) is blank]



Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords[1] were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtoa in tecpancalli in tlatocacalli, ic mopia tlatocacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca tlatoanj, ixqujch tlacati vncan tecpanoa, vncan motzontequj in tlein tequjtl, anoçe ixuiotl: ioan vncan atlixa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenqujxtia tlatoanj. 000

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtoa in vncā tlatoloia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauija, in aqujque tlatlacoa, vncan qujntlatzontequjliaia. 692

Tlacxitlan:[2] there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,[3] beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.[4] And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

Tlacxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecutlatoque: in jxqujch tlamantli in jnteilhujl cujtlapilli atlapalli maçeoalli: vnca qujcaqujliaia, vncan qujtlatzontequjliaia; ioan ixqujch tlamantli mjqujztli vncan qujtzontequja aço aca quimecanjzquj, anoço aca qujtetepachoaque, anoço aca quauhtica mjquja qujujujtequjzque, anoço aca pilli, anoço tecutlato, ximaloc, totococ, callalilo, maceoalcuepalo, anoço aca ilpilo quauhcalco tlalilo: ioan vncan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti. 693 696

[When] Moctezuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Moctezuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

Tlatocati in motecuçuma, oxiujtl in maianaloc, in pipilti mjiequjntin, in qujnnamacaque in jntelpuchoan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in equjcac motecuçuma: tlanaoti injc nechicoloque, in jxqujchtin tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzaloque in jntecujjohoan, injc macoque, injc cuepililoque in jntlatquj. Veuej tilmatli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiotica pipilti, ioā oppamjxtlapan injc qujntlaxtlaujli, injc qujntlatlacollaz pipilti. 731 567 643

In that place, the Tlacxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

In oncan jn tlacxitlan amo tle vecaoaia in netelhujlli, çan ajman icuiloa motzontequja, in tlein 692 695

1. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 22-23: "Este nombre, tlatoāni, quiere decir, persona noble, gouernan o magestica. . . . Y los conquistores de tlatoāni que se conquistan con nombres nuevos, significan personas nobles, como diziendo os tlatoāni, una persona honrada, o mujer." Also cf. Leonhard Schultze Jena: *Glaubenswelt der Alt-Amerikanischen Völker in Parallelen, Einzel und Bezug, aus dem Amerikanischen Urwort Betrachtet der Indianer*) (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 32.
2. Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court,' meaning "those placed below, at the feet."
3. See Pl. 66.
4. See Pls. 67, 87.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc.

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl.

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in ꜩqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia. çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlac in oc iohoan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, açotlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla açotl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujttequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, açotl qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj.

9. Thevet-Ternaux, *Monumens*; see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jara, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *tetamacaualoli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *amoyo tetlacemalcaoli*—or *adultery*.

561 681 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the [E97] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injqujpiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in oauhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiocachpetlatl, quauhaiocachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

624 651 681 344 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli:[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujmaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel; njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujzzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman iciuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

565 574 431 344 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhconcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Tzilpicalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 288-289, writes: *"Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada tzilpicayan, lugar de presos, era que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de penas leves; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio."*

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, these passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticociauacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinauacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhti,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned

calli, in vncan iexque, in vncā tetlatzontequjlizque, 643
in vncan qujcaquizque in jxquich tlamātli tlacatlatolli, 693
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncā tetlatzontequjliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman iciuhca qujtzontequja inteneteilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca qujcaquja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oqujchipauhque, in oqujiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan qujtlalia, injc vmpa qujtquj tlacxitlan in jpā qujntlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. 693 [344] 565 695 [212]

Auh intla itla oujlitica iujc qujtquj in tlatoanj injc ichoanti qujtzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezcacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çioutecpanecatl, tequjxqujnaoacatl, iehoantin, y, in tecutlatoque qujnemjliaia, qujchiquja, qujpetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, qujntemoaia in machicoqe, in tlaneltiliani, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlalilec. 695 643

Auh intla aca qujtlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz, njman qujmjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc ihoantin qujmjctia, qujmecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan qujtetepachoa, anoço qujtetequj. 693 696

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn netotilor. 535

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia, in maçeoalliztli, in papaqujliztli, injc qujmellaquaoa, injc qujniollalia, in jxquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxquich in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçeoalli: 643

achtopa qujtoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl menaz qujnnaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc qujchecoxque injc qujchicaoxque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 643 533 534

6. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los casos, muy difficultosos, y graues, remetianlos al señor: para que los sentenciasse juntamente con treze principales, muy sabidores, que eran el consejo, y cuydado."

7. After the word pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes ezoaoacatl: ezoaoacatl appears as epizoaoacatl. The title Tlaxitlanmatzin is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.

8. Can dapic: can is probably manuscript (cf. ibid.).

9. Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 164, 281, 293; II, pp. 318, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 108, and III, p. 53.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

In this rapid sketch, we have failed to find, among aboriginal modes of punishment, two which were common to almost every nation of the old world, namely: whipping, and imprisonment.

Whipping, beating, or lashing was, among the Mexicans as well as amongst all American natives, known only as a *deadly insult*. It is nevertheless true that the Mendoza Codex contains pictures representing a Mexican father who applies to a son the rod of punishment.[142] Again, the candidate for the office of chief had to endure beating[143] along with the other sufferings incident to his time of trial. But no "bondsman" was ever whipped or flogged, neither was a criminal subjected to this degrading penalty, for which death would have been a thousand times preferable.[144]

The Mexicans had places of confinement—dark and gloomy recesses with entrances compared to "pigeon-holes."[145] Every official building, and also the places of worship contained them. They were called: "place of the taken one," "teilpiloyan;"[146] "place of entombment or confinement," "Tecaltzaqualoyan,"[147] and "house of wood," Quauhcalli."[148] The latter, which is particularly described as a wooden cage placed within a dark chamber, was reserved for those whose doom was sealed, whether they were criminals sentenced to immediate execution, or captives to

heredades. en recordar las ceremonias de la religion. y en contribuir á conservar la memoria de los sucesos más notables, que aun con ese auxilio habria perecido, á no perpetuarse en las tradiciones recogidas por los primeros predicadores del Evangelio."

[142] "*Mendoza Codex*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plates LX, part 3), the boy being nine years old.

[143] *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII. p. 157). *Torquemada* (Lib XI, cap. XXIX, p. 382). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII. p. 473), etc., etc.

[144] It was no dishonor to suffer tortures, but whipping was a deadly insult, as among other Indians.

[145] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 138): "Tenian las cárceles dentro de una casa oscura y de poca claridad, y en ella hacian su jaula ó jaulas; y la puerta de la casa que era pequeña como puerto de palomar, cerrada por defuera con tablas, y arrimadas grandes piedras." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 353).

[146] *Molina* (II, p. 94), "teilpi"—el que prende o encarcela a otro"—"teilpiliztli" "prendimiento tal." (Id. I, p. 98). "prender" "nitеylpia." Among the 78 edifices of the great central place of worship, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix. p. 210) mentions one place "Acatlayiacapan Veicalpulli" "esta era una casa donde juntaban los esclavos que habian de matar á honra de los Tlaloques." (Id., Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304. Cap. XXI, p. 309) mentions "jails" in connection with the official house or "tecpan." That the different calpulli or "barrios" had each its places of confinement is noticed by *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 187): "Los calpixques los recogian y los ponian en las casas de sus comunidades ó del sacerdote de tal barrio."

[147] *Molina* (II, p. 91): "Tecalli" a vault, "casa de bóveda." Since the Mexicans had no arches, it meant actually a tomb.

[148] *Molina* (II, p. 86): "Jaula grande de palo, adonde estanan los presos por sus delictos."

681 And then also at that time died those who were in jail, who were there for something which demanded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic catz, in vei qujtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no ichoan in mamaltin, cequintin vncan mjquja,

643 761 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: cã ichoan inca mozcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moquixtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilquixtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujzçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

787 651 And when someone was then born,[5] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend. But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

787 754 791 And also it was said that he who was then born a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[6] That is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into something [else]: because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[7] etc.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlãciuhquj, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla maceoalli, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moquixtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jzquich tlauelilocaioti, cioapotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepilli, teiolmalacacho, teioiolmala-

3. An additional phrase in the *Real Palacio* MS will change the meaning somewhat: *ayamo mahuiza, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún." *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significa . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del egipcio* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*] . . . *De una primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicación de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se concibe el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejecutar obras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un nahualli poderoso y multiplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from *nahuali, nahuatia, "verbo activo, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'esgrimir, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que con ambages, fundados o sólo aparentes, embauca a las gentes. En Molina hallamos: entre otros, los verbos: nahualoaya, cosa disimulada, con capuzón, secretamente: nahualtzitlia, tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación; nahualliachia, acechar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de nahualli o un derivado suyo.*"

Ib Fernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al oficio que el demonio les señalaba para que hiciesen lo que llaman nahualli. . . .*

". . . *cuando el niño nace, el demonio por el pacto expreso o tácito que sus padres tuvieron con él, le dedica o separa al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por nahual, que es como decir por dueño de su voluntad y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud desde punto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *advierte la denominación y significación del nombre nahualli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raíces que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con suspenso, la tercera, ocultarse o rebujarse, y aunque sí conocemos para que se acomoden las dos primeras significaciones, no quedamos mal la tercera, que es del verbo nahualtia que es acomodarse cubriéndose con algo, que viene a ser lo mismo que rebujarse, y así, nahualli dice rebujado, o disfrazado debajo de la apariencia del tal animal, como ellos comunmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, *supra*.

1/A [i.e., the day One Rain. - Analyst]

721 696 **Twenty-sixth Chapter,** *in* which it is told how these rulers (upon the day sign mentioned) proclaimed war. And at that time were sentenced those who were to die.[1]

701 721 When already the election ceremony had taken place, with festivity,[2] [the newly-elected rulers] disposed themselves for war to be declared. Also in this way it was said that for a second time, in war, the rulers would hold the election ceremony. Then to a considerable degree did the chieftains, the strong, cast their lot with him. They were urged and thrust upon him that they might show him their skill and aid him; so that they might take captives for him. This was because in this way they sought, dedicated themselves to, and gained their drink and food, and their capes, through the help of which they would live and have raiment; and he would honor them, etc. They would become his standard-bearing warriors, who, it was said, courted danger, hurled themselves against the foe, and joined in the fray.

696 And it was also said that on this [day sign] One Dog a court of justice was held. Then was sentence pronounced upon those who were to die. And at this time were released and freed those who had done nothing serious. And they absolved of their crimes those who had suffered injustice for no apparent crime or discernible fault, and had served and paid a penalty for it: those who had only wrongly been imprisoned for some invented wrong, who only paid and atoned another's fault or crime, or perhaps served in another's place. Perhaps they imprisoned one for another's fault. So they had been forced into bondage and had become slaves. At once they bathed there at Chapultepec to lay aside their crimes.[3]

Injc cempoalli on chiquacen capitulo: vncan motenteoa, in quenjn ichoantin tlatoque (in jpan in tonalli omoteneuh) iaotlatoaia, ioan vncan tlatzontequjlilóia in mjqujztli ipan catca.

In jquac ie omotecpac tecoanotzaliztica: njman ie no cuele oalmotlalia injc iaotlatolo, no ic mjtoa ic oppa iaoc motecpacaz in tlatoanj, iquac cenca ipan mopepena in tiacaoan, in chicaoaque, ipan netototcholo, nemamalioa, injc qujtlamatilizque, qujpalevizque, injc ichoan uel qujtlamaltizque, ipampa ca qujxtoca, ipan mjxpoa, qujmototoqujlia in jtuh, in jtlaqual, in jtilma, injc ipal nemjzque, ipallaquemjzque, qujnmaujzçotiz, Et[a]. itlaujceoaoan mochioazque in mjtoa: injc aqujtiaçotla in jntzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, teca momotla, teujc mopetlatiuj:

ioan mjtoa no ipan tecutlatolóia injn ce itzcujntli, vncan tlatzontequjlilóia in jmpan ca mjqujztli: auh iquac qujxtiloia, caoaloia, in amo cenca ovi ic caie, ioan qujntlatlacollaçaia, in tlatlacoti, in amo cenca melaoac, in amo uel ixnezquj, in amo cenca uel neztica ic tlacoti, ic tlanamjquj in aço çan tlapictli qujtzaqua, çan tlapiqujloque, çan ixpopoiotlanamjctiloque, ixpopoiotlanamjcque, aço çan tepon in tlaiecoa, aço çan tecujtl in qujtzaqua, injc cujtiloque in victli, mecapalli, injc victique, mecapaltique, iquac njman vmpa onmaaltia, in chapulepec, injc qujncaoa, intlatlacul:

1. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en el mismo consentimiento o muerte, a los que por algú gran crimen, estavan presos."*

2. *Ibid.*: *"En acabando de hazer la fiesta de la dedicacion de su señorio. . . . auja de renovar la guerra de su señorio."* Cf. also Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.*

3. Cf. *Florentine Codex*, Book VI, Chapter xli: *Ma chapultepec nimanic.* In the Garibay ed., VI, 41, 67, the corresponding Spanish text reads: "Dezan ivase a bañar a Chapultepec, a quarela poder ivase a bañar a Chapultepec. — *Este refrán dize el que ha tenido alguna gran enfermedad o algún cargo pesado, con deseo de auerse libre de aquel cargo o enfermedad, diziendo: Ma chapultepec nimanic, que quiere dezir, bañarme he yo en aquel rrosalio cuando este cargo o enfermedad se me quitase.* Chapultepec es una fuente que está cerca de México, muy buena; los que se bañan en ella piensan que les hace dizer gran mentira. *Así, este adagio se da a las mentirosas.*"